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ABSTRACT

This teaching guide for grades 9-12 contains resource materials and activity suggestions that are designed to improve students' knowledge of post-war Eastern Europe and enable them to appreciate current events. The activities are appropriate for use in high school social studies classrooms, as well as for economics, world history, and U.S. history courses. The activities include: "Introducing the New Europe"; "Mapping Europe"; "Glossary Terms: Old and New"; "Chronological Thinking"; "Cartoon Analysis"; "U.S. Foreign Policy"; "Inside Eastern Europe"; "Taking Sides"; and "More Critical Thinking Activities." The following handouts are included: pre-test and answer key; maps of Eastern Europe 1990, 1914-1919, and 1939-1949; glossary of new terms; chronology of Eastern Europe, 1945-1991; and cartoons. (Contains 33 references.) (DB)

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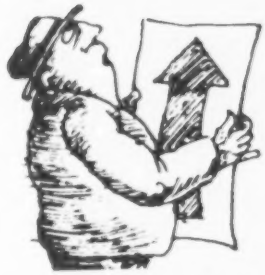
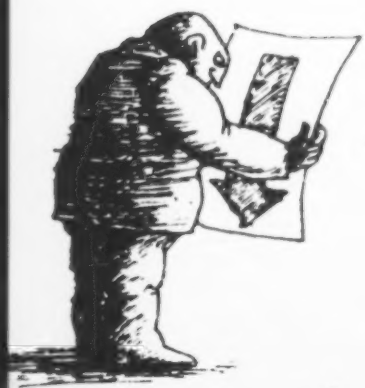
A TEACHER'S GUIDE TO REVOLUTION AND REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE





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A TEACHER'S RESOURCE AND ACTIVITY GUIDE
TO REVOLUTION AND REFORM
IN EASTERN EUROPE

Recommended for Grades 9-12

Developed by Adrian Chan

Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

Stanford Center for Russian and Eastern European Studies

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The Eight Wonders of the Socialist Economy
"There is no unemployment, but nobody works.
Nobody works, but the plan is fulfilled.
The plan is fulfilled, but there is nothing to buy.
There is nothing to buy, but you can find anything.
You can find anything, but everybody steals.
Everybody steals, but nothing has been stolen.
Nothing has been stolen, but it's impossible to work.
It's impossible to work, but there is no unemployment."

ANONYMOUS

"A people which enslaves others forges its own chains."

KARL MARX

"People say we lived behind the Iron Curtain. This is not quite true. We lived in a tin. As long as a tin is hermetically closed, it's all right. But then during Imre Nagy's first Premiership they pierced the tin and let in a little bit of fresh air. You know what happens to a tin when a little fresh air gets into it? . . . Everything inside gets rotten."

A YOUTH IN BUDAPEST,
Hungary after the 1956 revolution

"It is not always by going from bad to worse that a nation is driven to revolution. It often happens that a nation which has suffered without complaint, almost as if it were insensible to the most oppressive of laws, will suddenly reject them with violence at the first sign of alleviation. A regime which a revolution has destroyed is often much better than the one which preceded it, and experience suggests that the most dangerous moment for an evil government is usually when it begins to reform itself. Only great ingenuity can save a prince who undertakes to give relief to his subjects after long oppression. The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one' sensitivity has become more acute."

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE,
"L'Ancien Regime et la Revolution," 1856

introduction

This resource guide for grades 9-12 combines resource materials and activity suggestions on Eastern Europe on topics and themes of interest to the senior high teacher and student. Big themes, of which "democracy" and "freedom" are good examples, are raised repeatedly. Themes of specific interest to US and world history teachers elaborate on the enormous impact of the revolutions in Eastern Europe. The first activities introduce key concepts, terms, and events. Activities following the cartoons engage students in more complex critical thinking activities.

These activities on post-war Eastern Europe are for use in senior high social studies classrooms and are appropriate for economics as well as world history and US history courses. They have been written so that you can infuse them into your curriculum where they are best suited, and where they can engage the creativity of your students. These materials should not be used as a replacement for your textbook curriculum.

Goals of this resource guide are

- to improve students' knowledge of post-war Eastern Europe and enable them to appreciate current events.
- to provide students with a context for on-going changes in Eastern Europe.
- to engage students and teachers through interactive classroom activities.

The terms "Third World" and "Second World" have been used here for the sake of convenience and variety. Please explain to students that there are legitimate objections to the terms Third and Second World—the implication being that the First World is better. The author chose to use the phrase "developing" instead of "underdeveloped" or "less-developed nations." Other terms such as "Soviet satellites," "Soviet bloc," "Eastern bloc," were often used in the past to refer to communist Eastern Europe. "South Eastern Europe" and "East Central Europe" are also geographic terms for the parts of the region that reach south from the Balkans to Poland.

activities

introducing the New Europe

1. To introduce a unit on Eastern Europe and assess your students' knowledge of the topic, begin with the *Pre-test*. Distribute one copy to each student, and allow them five minutes to complete it. Review the answers with the Answer Key.

2. Freedom and democracy are two terms that have been prominent in discussions about contemporary Eastern Europe. For a discussion of the democratization of Eastern Europe, first ask your students to list as many conditions as they can that democracies seem to require for success. *(Some possible conditions might be: fair representation; multiple parties; free elections; healthy economy; tolerance of political opposition; social welfare; constitution and bill of rights; freedom of movement; freedom of expression; fair and just legal system; etc.)* Discuss these with the class. Note that democracies are generally free from domination by other countries.

3. Throughout this unit, students should think about changes in the freedom Eastern European governments had with regard to the Soviet Union (self-determination) and the peoples of those countries had with regard to their daily lives (democracy). You might think of this in terms of the freedom governments have to conduct their internal affairs, and the freedom the people within those countries have to live their daily lives. Explain that events in Eastern Europe since the end of World War II have at times made Eastern Europeans more free, and at times less free. Ask students if they can describe the relationship between democracy and freedom. Which of the conditions above involve freedom, and how? You might connect this to the chronology; some critical events occurred in the years: 1945, 1948, 1953, 1956, 1961, 1968, 1980, 1989. To introduce key terms and concepts, see GLOSSARY TERMS. See also the textbook activity under MORE CRITICAL THINKING ACTIVITIES below.

mapping Europe

These activities will require students to use their textbooks. You might begin them with the class divided into small groups and assign the remainder as homework. The maps cover three major historical time periods and provide an important historical context for contemporary Eastern Europe. You may choose between distributing one copy of each map to every student, or distributing the base map only and using transparencies for the others. The activities will help your students understand the changes in territory and the location of ethnic groups that have occurred in this part of Europe over the past century.

1. Distribute and display a transparency of *Europe, 1990* to the class. With students working in partner pairs or in small groups, have them use their textbooks to identify some of the following.

    - The countries of "Eastern Europe" and "Western Europe." *(Although Greece is sometimes considered part of Eastern Europe geographically, it was not under Soviet influence or communist rule as were the countries of the Soviet bloc.)*

- The countries that have undergone significant political changes since 1989. *(See the Answer Key: countries labeled in black excluding Greece.)*

Which countries

- were/are members of NATO or the Warsaw Pact? *(**NATO**: Belgium; Canada; Denmark; France; Greece; Iceland; Luxembourg; the Netherlands; Norway; Portugal; Spain; Turkey; the United Kingdom; the United States; West Germany [now Germany]. **Warsaw Pact (defunct)**: Bulgaria; Czechoslovakia; East Germany; Hungary; Poland; Romania; USSR.)*
- are members of the **European Economic Community**? *(Belgium; Denmark; France; West Germany [now Germany]; Greece; Italy; Ireland; Luxembourg; the Netherlands; Portugal; Spain; the United Kingdom.)*
- were members of **COMECON**? *(Albania; Bulgaria; Cuba; Czechoslovakia; East Germany; Hungary; Mongolia; Poland; Romania; USSR; Vietnam.)*
- have been neutral or non-aligned? *(European members: Austria; Finland; Malta; Sweden; Switzerland; Yugoslavia.)*

2. Display *Eastern Europe: 1914-1919*, or distribute one copy to each student and ask them to identify some of the following about Eastern Europe in the 19th century.

   - What pivotal events caused great changes in Europe in 1848? *(Abdication of Emperor Ferdinand of Austria; Kossuth revolution in Hungary for independence.)* 1866? *(Prussia defeats Austria.)* 1867? *(Formation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.)* 1870? *(Germany's defeat of France.)*
   - What was the Dual-Monarchy? *(Austria-Hungary.)* What were the two dominant languages spoken in it? *(German and Magyar [Hungarian].)*
   - What are some ethnic groups that benefited little under the Austro-Hungarian Empire? *(Czechs; Slovaks; Serbs; Croats; Romanians; Poles; Italians.)*
   - What region comprising Serbs, Bulgarians, and Romanians, among many others, was the home to nationalist struggles against the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century? *(The Balkans.)* What countries are considered part of the Balkans? *(Romania, Bulgaria, central and southern Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece.)*
   - What was the approximate territory of the declining Ottoman Empire in the 19th century? *(Use a textbook for the answer.)*
   - Which three countries became part of the USSR at the beginning of World War II? *(Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania.)*
   - What four countries occupied Germany after World War II? *(United States; Great Britain; France; the Soviet Union.)*

   Give students the founding years of Eastern Europe's eight nation states: Romania: 1878; Bulgaria: 1908; Albania: 1913; Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia: 1918; Hungary: 1919; East Germany: 1949.

3. Display Map 3, *Eastern Europe: 1939-1949,* or distribute one copy to each student and then write the following passage from Churchill's "iron curtain" speech of 1946 on the board: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere. . . " Have them pencil in the "iron curtain" Churchill describes and locate the places mentioned. *(Capitals of Eastern European countries: GDR: Berlin; Poland: Warsaw; Czechoslovakia: Prague; Hungary: Budapest; Romania: Bucharest; Bulgaria: Sofia; Yugoslavia: Belgrade; Albania: Tirana.)* Ask some of the following questions about World War II's impact on Europe:

   - Which countries experienced border changes due to the war? *(Germany; Poland; the USSR; Czechoslovakia; Yugoslavia; Hungary; Romania.)*
   - What countries became part of the USSR at the beginning of World War II? *(Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania.)*
   - What happenend to Poland after the war? *(Its borders were moved westward.)*
   - Which country's capital was under Soviet occupation until the country became neutral in 1955? *(Austria. See your textbook.)*
   - Which country upset Joseph Stalin by pursuing its own communist path shortly after World War II? *(Yugoslavia.)*
   - In what country was Berlin located before German unification? *(East Germany.)*
   - Which nation was officially divided into two states in 1949? *(Germany.)*
   - Which two countries did many Eastern Europeans not trust after World War II? *(Germany and the Soviet Union, both for their territorial interests in Europe.)*

4. To conclude this activity, ask these questions about the historical presence of ethnic groups in Eastern Europe. Ask students to write the locations of the following ethnic groups in the countries in which they are minorities (use *Europe, 1990: Answer Key*): Turks; Hungarians; Germans; Slovaks; Serbs; Czechs; Poles. Explain that Poles, Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs and Croats are all Slavs, and that a traditional conflict in Eastern Europe runs between Slavs and non-Slavs. Tension also results from differences between Eastern Europe's three major religions: Byzantine Orthodox Christianity, Roman Catholicism, and Sunni Islam.

   - What ethnic group in Bulgaria traces its origins to the Ottoman Empire? *(Turkish.)* What religion are the Turks, and what is the dominant religion of Bulgarians? *(Islam; Orthodox Christians.)*
   - What minority group in Romania was a proud member of the Dual Monarchy? *(Hungarians.)*
   - Many people disagree over what to call Eastern Europe because its geographic location straddles east and west.

What do your students think? Is it the "east of the West, or the west of the East?"

- Should Eastern Europe be considered a geographic region, or do its differences make this too difficult? Explain.
- Ask the class to begin listing historical similarities and differences between countries of Eastern Europe. Students should add to the list as they learn more.
- Ask your students to define the differences between patriotism, racism, and nationalism.
- Ask your students to think of some differences between ethnic problems in the US and Eastern Europe.

glossary terms: old and new

This resource guide contains two lists of glossary terms. The first, and immediately following, are terms students should find in their textbooks; those in boldface might serve as good conceptual organizers for lessons on post-war Eastern Europe. The second list, *Glossary*, is a handout, and defines terms that are less common and which apply to Eastern Europe today. Here are some activities you might use together with either of the lists.

Old Glossary Terms
alliances; anti-Semitism; authoritarianism; balance of power; Berlin blockade; Berlin Wall; bipolarism; **Brezhnev doctrine**; buffer zone; capitalism; class conflict; **Cold War**; collectivization; command economy; communism; Communist Party; Cominform; **containment**; detente; deterrence; **division**; Eastern Bloc; hegemony; **human rights**; ideology; imperialism; interventionism; **iron curtain**; legitimacy; linkage; market economy; Marshall Plan; martial law; Marxism; mutual assured destruction (MAD); nationalism; NATO; pan Slavism; police state; **Prague Spring**; **propaganda**; rebellion; repression; satellite country; self-determination; separate roads to socialism; single-party rule; Slavic; socialism; solidarity; sovereignty; **Sovietization**; **sphere of influence**; Stalinism; summit; totalitarianism; Truman Doctrine; Warsaw Pact.

1. Assign your students to find examples of the new terms (see *Glossary*) in newspaper or magazine articles. Ask for historical examples of terms that they were unable to find.

2. Divide students into groups of two to four, and ask them to make a crossword puzzle on graph paper using ten words from both the glossary and the list above. Students will have to provide accurate clues to each word in the puzzle.

3. Assign students in small groups five words for which they are to list three to four significant historical events that help to characterize the term.

4. When thinking of the Cold War we often turn to dualisms. As an evaluation of how your students think about the Cold War, ask them to group the terms listed above under the headings *Soviet Union/Communism* and *United States/Capitalism*. Were the terms simple to categorize? How did students categorize: bipolarism; alliances; ideology; hegemony; interventionism? Which terms have positive connotations for us? Negative connotations? Are dualisms helpful? Do they portray the truth accurately or do they distort?

5. Some of the terms above are related to forms of government and political systems. Have your students identify these terms and then give characterizations and examples of these kinds of governments. Ask students to categorize some of these terms as conditions for or against freedom and democracy (see INTRODUCTION). Do the same with the list of new glossary terms.

chronological thinking

The chronology contained in this handout can be used in a number of ways. Here are some you might find useful.

1. Sometimes we look back on history and find ourselves asking: What would have happened if Nazi Germany had won the Second World War? What might have come about if not Spain, but China, had discovered America? Would the rest of Eastern Europe have begun democratization if East Germany had used a Tiananmen solution to end protests? Or if Gorbachev had resisted the independence of Eastern Europe from the USSR? History is dynamic, and there were moments when history *in general* may have taken a different turn had a *particular* event not occurred. Ask students to identify critical moments in the history of Eastern Europe, using the following themes as guides:

    - Collapse of Empires. *(Example: Defeat of Ottoman Empire.)*
    - Popular revolts and rebellions. *(Example: Budapest, 1956.)*
    - Important historical figures (Eastern and non-Eastern European). *(Example: Hitler.)*
    - Relations with the West and with the USSR. *(Example: Tito-Stalin split.)*
    - Superpower relations. *(Example: End of the Cold War.)*

2. In small groups of two to three, students venture into the past to reshape history in some way. Assign each group part of the chronology and ask students to work together to alter history. As an alternative, have students use the critical moments they already identified. The following scenarios and questions might serve as guides (italics identify critical thinking skills):

    Scenarios
    - US troops occupy Poland at the end of World War II.
    - The US uses military force against Soviet ships during the Cuban Missile Crisis.
    - Soviet forces refuse to enter Budapest in 1956; Warsaw Pact forces refuse to enter Czechoslovakia in 1968.

- The East German military shoots protesters in October 1989.
- The US bulldozes the Berlin Wall in 1961.
- Communist parties win elections in Western Europe in the late 1960s.
- A nuclear reactor explodes in France, 1986.

Questions

- What is happening and who is involved? *(Background and historical context.)*
- What can be done and how? *(Analyzing the situation.)*
- What should be done and why? *(Making choices.)*
- What might the outcomes be, and how could they change history? *(Understanding cause and effect.)*

3. In this activity, student groups research world history during the time period assigned to them. The entire class then makes a timeline listing the years along the top of the page and describing world events underneath. Try to determine whether some of the important years on the chronology made Eastern Europeans more or less free. Were *all* Eastern Europeans affected in the same way? Have students decide which five or ten dates they consider the most important and ask them to explain why.

   Cut the chronology into strips, each of one event, and distribute them randomly among students. Ask students to interview each other until they are able to find someone who can explain their event to them. Ask students to seat themselves around the room in chronological order.

4. Students might find it interesting to write or review a news article about an event or issue in Eastern Europe. These might be a front-page news article, an article containing background information, or an editorial representing a personal point of view. Explain differences between these kinds of writing. Encourage students to include the following:

   - An explanation of the event or issue.
   - Reactions of relevant political figures.
   - Explanations of why the event or issue is significant.
   - What some people think might happen next.

cartoon analysis

Political cartoons, as images, provide a spectrum of perspectives and interpretations rarely found in written arguments. The cartoons contained in this handout appeared in a Czech magazine in 1990. Each of them contains themes relevant to the transformation of Eastern Europe.

1. Distribute one copy of *Cartoons* to each student, and allow the class time to study the cartoons individually, in pairs, or in small groups. Begin by asking for an explanation of each cartoon. *(Some possible responses are: 1) The cartoonist wants to show that the revolutions in*

Eastern Europe looked much better on television than they turned out to be in real life; 2) The downfall of communism is met by a fiend of equal notoriety: nationalism; 3) There are some making money by giving advice—but who knows what to do with it?; 4) With democratization, each household now has a voice (and a vote), signified by the podiums seen on every roof.)

2. Ask students to answer the following questions, either verbally or on paper:

    - What role did the media play in Eastern Europe's revolutions?
    - Why do the people come out of the television disheartened as they were before?
    - Why are communism and nationalism tipping their hats to each other?
    - Why are people anxious for someone to point them in the right direction?
    - What is meant by the phrase "one person, one vote?"
    - Which cartoons seem pessimistic regarding Eastern Europe's transformation?
    - What might be the relationship between communism and nationalism?
    - What are some of the problems faced in Eastern Europe today?
    - Might any of these problems lead to risky or dangerous situations?
    - Can you explain the reasons for this?

3. The following themes involve post-1989 Eastern Europe. Introduce them to your students and ask them to keep them in mind through the remainder of this guide.

    Democratization. What needs to be done in Eastern Europe to establish stable new democracies? What are some important relationships between economic, political, social, and cultural matters? What might be the role of western and developing nations?

    Revolutions. How do the revolutions of Eastern Europe compare with revolutions of the past (1688; 1776; 1789; 1848; 1917; 1953, 1956, 1968, 1980)? What were the goals of the people, the concessions of the leaders, the strategies and tactics used by each, the responses of other countries, and the outcomes?

    Investment. Of what importance is foreign investment to developing nations? Where should this investment come from, and what kind should it be (e.g. credits; joint ventures; technical assistance; economic assistance)? Should foreign investors be encouraged to buy and own businesses and property in Eastern Europe? Can the experiences of the Third World be applied to the Second World?

Westernization. The peoples of Eastern Europe have often looked to the West for ideas. What kinds of ideas can they take from the West today? What experiences should they try to avoid? What beneficial social characteristics of the communist system do many Eastern Europeans want to keep, and why?

Nationalism. The 19th and early 20th centuries saw the collapse of the ruling European Empires and the birth of a dozen European nation-states. The imposition of communist rule in the area and the threat of force and intervention kept differences between these nations in check. There may now be conflicts over not only borders, but between ethnic groups also. Why do these kinds of conflicts not disappear with time?

4. Cartoons use metaphors to convey their messages. Ask your students to describe how a "metaphor" is used. In a metaphor, we use a term or phrase that is a figurative rather than literal description of something. For example, religious, animal, natural, technological, or alien images often take the form of metaphors. The "iron curtain," "Cold War," and "velvet revolution" are concrete examples. Discuss the visual metaphors used in these cartoons: the television, the stairway and the horns, the arrows, the podiums. What are some examples of metaphors common in political speeches, sporting events, etc.? Ask your students to find metaphors in newspaper or magazine articles or cartoons.

5. Ask students to use the cartoons as the starting point for a writing exercise. Students might write from the perspective of the television,

US foreign policy

These activities examine the implications the Soviet Union's changed politics and Eastern Europe's transformation have for US foreign policy.

1. The changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have, and will continue to affect Soviet-American relations. Help students understand the issues suggested below by asking them to first organize different perspectives and, second, produce their own opinions. For one or more of these issues, students should work in partner-pairs or small groups to list policies, participants, values, events, and outcomes—anything that comes to mind—related to the issue. After brainstorming, students should organize their ideas into different categories. Compare and discuss. You might want to emphasize some of the concepts raised earlier in the guide, e.g. democracy, freedom, dualisms, superpower relations, etc.

    - In 1947, the Marshall Plan was offered as assistance in the reconstruction of all of Europe. The intervention of the USSR kept this from extending to the countries of the newly-created "Eastern Bloc." Should the United States now consider a formal and well-orchestrated aid program in Eastern Europe?

- Soviet foreign policy underwent drastic changes as a result of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze's conciliatory approaches. Strides were made in arms control, regional conflicts, economic, technical, cultural, and political cooperation, to name a few areas. Soviet acceptance of democratization in Eastern Europe was absolutely critical to its success. What changes have and might yet occur in US policy towards the USSR and Eastern Europe? How do these relate to the end of the Cold War?

- The world's two major military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, were created within ten years after the Second World War's end. They served to articulate the deterrence postures of the two superpowers. With the Warsaw Pact dissolved, what rationale does NATO have for existing? What impact will the Gulf War have on these military alliances in the short and long run?

- Students should be familiar with the significance the notion of a "balance of power" has had in the 19th and 20th centuries. The end of the Cold War and the war in the Persian Gulf have upset the balance of power and tipped the scales in favor of the United States—a country that is increasingly concerned, as it was between the world wars, with its own domestic issues. What will be the new balance of power? What positions will be held by Europe, by Japan and other countries in Asia, the countries of the developing world, Latin America, and the Middle East? What are some ways in which these countries are interdependent?

To conclude this activity, allow students to use one of the following assignments to reflect on the above issues.

- Ask students to draw up a summit meeting agenda for a discussion with the Soviet leader on US-Soviet relations. Encourage students to think about the history of Soviet-American relations while they do this.
- Write a newspaper editorial, cover story or interview.
- Write a short story, poem, radio broadcast, or song.
- Make a cartoon strip or other drawing.

inside Eastern Europe

1. The transformation in Eastern Europe of second into first world countries is occurring on a grand scale for the first time ever. But countless problems—many unforeseen—will continue to plague the fragile fledgling democracies. Follow the directions given in the preceding activity.

   Topics
   - The democratization of Eastern Europe's political systems has left many former informers unemployed in its wake. What should be done with these people, if anything? What

are the political risks of granting amnesty to former secret police? What are the risks of barring them from employment or putting them on trial?

- In a strange twist of fate, those whose expertise is needed most in the process of economic transformation (marketization) are precisely the Communist Party members who formerly led the country. These are the people with the resources for investing in new businesses and with the know-how sought by western enterprises. What is ironic in this situation? Would you do anything about it?

- Under communist systems many "political" prisoners, those charged with disrupting or threatening the state, were put to work in factories, mines, etc. One of Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel's first acts was to release thousands of such employees from an auto manufacturer, thus crippling the company. What should be done in situations similar to this?

- *Glasnost* and *perestroika* earned their fame in the Soviet Union before spilling over into the countries of Eastern Europe. When the governments of Poland, Hungary and then East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Romania fell to demonstrations of popular unrest, the discovery of political freedom gave birth to many new movements: environmental, ethnic, historical, cultural, etc. In Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe's most ethnically diverse country, nationalism quickly became one of the most volatile forms of popular expression. What approach can and should the people and governments of these countries take? Should nationalism be considered a valid form of expression? Should Yugoslav leaders act to preserve the unity of the country, or do the republics have a right to self-determination and autonomy?

- German unification turned out to be a bittersweet ending to the country's forty-year division. Many East Germans became unemployed and lost precious social benefits. With entire academic and political institutions dissolved, and many professionals under-qualified in the new Germany, East Germans suffered a loss of identity. What should the German government do to compensate? How might it reorder its domestic priorities?

- The quotes at the front of this guide all draw a lesson out of Eastern Europe. Ask students to choose one or more that are appropriate with the activities below. The following from Todor Zhivkov, Bulgarian leader from 1954-1989, while under house arrest on November 27, 1990, might be of interest: "If I had to do it all over again, I would not even be a Communist. And if Lenin were alive today, he would say the same thing. . . I must now admit that we started from the wrong basis, from the wrong premise. The foundation of socialism was wrong. I believe from its very conception, the

idea of socialism was stillborn. We should have gone back to the original Marxist sources and had socialism develop within a highly developed capitalist world."

taking sides

We have now seen some of the unanticipated problems and questions created by the democratization of Eastern Europe. In this activity, the class debates some of the issues students consider the most important. The directions below should help you organize a debate aimed at producing understanding between the participants.

1. First, select a topic—the list below emphasizes some tricky conceptual controversies (see also the topics above). The statements declare a possible position or opinion. Adapt them to your class—remember, there are no correct answers.

   Possible Topics

   - Only radical change pursued quickly and completely can undo communism and create the conditions for a free-market economy.
   - Only gradual reforms can succeed in change that does not disrupt society, cause inflation, strikes, a loss of faith in the leadership, and ultimately a return to conservative communism.
   - Foreign investment should/not be allowed to buy up the property and businesses of Eastern European countries.
   - Principally responsible for bringing an end to communism in Eastern Europe were: the United States; the Soviet Union; the leaders of Eastern European countries; the people of Eastern Europe.
   - The failure of communism in Eastern Europe foreshadows the defeat of communism everywhere and signals the triumph of capitalism.
   - Communism and capitalism can both learn from each other—in political, economic, social, and cultural affairs—neither are perfect systems.
   - The New World Order would mean an end to the use of military force in solving conflicts. The world is/not ready for this.
   - There never really was a Cold War. The division of Europe is, in retrospect, an accident of history. Our misperceptions about each other, e.g. US-Soviet, are now clearing up.

   For a debate, divide the class into a "for" and "against." In a negotiation, there will be more than two teams. Negotiations might take place between any of the following representatives: leaders of Western or Eastern European countries, the US, the USSR, Communist Party leaders, leaders of opposition movements, the Church, workers, ordinary citizens, etc.

2. Divide the class into two equal teams or assign negotiation representatives, and make sure that students understand the topic and the two debating positions (for and against). Allow students in each team several class periods to research and prepare their position (they can take different aspects of the topic or team position). To be certain that each side understands the points of debate, ask each team to explain the other's positions.

3. One student on each side will play the *team leader*. His/her task is to coordinate the team's debate preparations and announce its position to the class. The *facilitator's* task (teacher or an appointed student) is to clarify arguments and keep the debate on track. You may also want to appoint two or three *discussion monitors*. Their responsibility is to listen closely to the debate and tell the class afterwards whether or not each side presented its arguments clearly and listened to the other side.

4. The debate begins after the leaders have presented their team positions. End the debate when both teams have worked out an agreement. The agreement might simply list the points of disagreement or it might describe a compromise. The nature of the agreement will depend on the topic of debate; you might ask the class to draft a document or statement of agreement. In a negotiation, encourage the teams to write it out.

5. Discuss the debate. Did one team convince the other? What points did the two teams dis/agree on? Was the debate fair? Emphasize the importance of each team's understanding the other. As homework, have students write about the debating experience. Questions are whether or not students agreed with their own position and why; who had the best arguments; and what students learned.

more critical thinking activities

Many textbooks have been rendered nearly obsolete by changes that have swept through Eastern Europe. Your world history or US history textbook can become an interesting resource for some of the following suggestions.

1. Ask your students (individually or in pairs) to find where Eastern Europe appears in their textbook. They might begin with the table of contents and the index, and then focus on a particular time period. How does Eastern Europe compare to other regions during the same time period: the Soviet Union or countries of Western Europe, for example? (You might find that post-war Eastern Europe is given much less attention than it was during the 19th and early 20th centuries.) Ask students to take notes on the following:

    - In what time periods and events is Eastern Europe covered?
    - Who is written about and what is said?
    - What issues seem to have dominated (the empires/countries of) Eastern Europe?
    - In what context does *post-war* Eastern Europe appear?

- Does the textbook contain enough information on Eastern Europe to help explain recent events there? Explain.
- What kind of future does the textbook seem to imply for Eastern Europe ?

List responses on the board and determine the areas that are most interesting to your students. To assess your students' understanding of Eastern Europe, ask them to summarize the role Eastern European nations have played in the post-war world. The summaries should include answers to some of the questions above.

Invite your students to make "contributions" to the textbook. With the class divided into groups of three or four, have one set of groups outline a new section on the Cold War, to be told from today's perspectives—this should help students see the importance of perspective in writing history. Ask another set of groups to organize, outline, and write several paragraphs about the democratization of Eastern Europe. Finally, have the rest write a section about Eastern Europe in the year 2010, covering some possible events of the years 1990-2010 (focus on the outcomes of attempts at democratization and marketization). Encourage students to use some of the new vocabulary terms.

2. Divide the class into partner pairs or small groups, and ask students to design political campaigns for Eastern Europe's new leaders (should the campaigns be modeled on the US political system?). Political candidates in Eastern Europe must address the program of reform: what it should aim for, how it should be carried out, by whom, and how quickly or slowly (see TAKING SIDES). They must also communicate these platforms as clearly as possible. Use the following questions as guidelines:

   - What are some reasons to pursue fast and radical reform? What are some of the dangers in this program?
   - What are some of the reasons to pursue cautious and gradual reform? What are some of the dangers in this program?

   The following are examples of Eastern European political slogans (1990). Have your students make slogans for their political campaigns.

   "We are one people." — conservative *Christian Democratic Party (CDU), Germany*
   "Truth and Love must overcome Lies and Hatred." — opposition movement *Civic Forum*
   "We open Czechoslovakia to the world and the world to Czechoslovakia." — *Czechoslovakian Socialist Party*
   "Progress and Security." — *Socialist Party of Hungary*

3. There are a number of interesting similarities and differences between the democratizing countries of Eastern Europe and the developing countries of the "third world." When your students have studied both, you might want to brainstorm some of these

comparisons. Some examples of current and anticipated similarities are below. Ask students to think of possible future solutions.

Similarities
Civil unrest: Sudan/Yugoslavia; *Religious tension*: India/Yugoslavia; *Debt crises*: Brazil/Poland; *Privatization*: Mexico/Poland; *Communism*: Cuba/Eastern Europe; *Migration*: Ethiopia/Romania; *Pollution*: Mexico/any country in E. Europe; *Nationalism*: India/Bulgaria; *Shortages:* Sudan/USSR; *Unification:* Germany/Korea.

Differences
Population: Eastern Europe: low; India and many developing nations: high; *Territorial Conflicts*: Eastern Europe: few; Middle East, Africa: several;
Human Rights Violations: Eastern Europe: decreasing; Latin America: on-going.

pre-test

Match words in the following list with the correct statements.

Mikhail Gorbachev; travel restrictions; democracy; invest; Poland; monopoly; opposition movements; Yugoslavia; iron curtain; Romanian; Cold War; planned; the Berlin Wall; intervention.

1. In 1989 and 1990, a number of Eastern European Communist Parties relinquished their _____ on political power. This removed a major hurdle from the path to _____.

2. In 1956 and 1968, the Soviet Union mobilized forces of the Warsaw Pact to crush popular anti-Soviet reformist revolts in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Under _____'s leadership, Soviet policy encouraged the countries of Eastern Europe to conduct reforms without the threat of Soviet _____.

3. The lifting of _____ caused a flood of East Germans to leave for neighboring West Germany. A similar situation had resulted in construction of _____ in 1961.

4. In 1989, _____ was the first Eastern European country to hold multi-party elections. On January 1, 1990, it became the first Eastern European country to convert from a command to a free market economy.

5. Comprising six republics, five ethnic groups, four major languages, three religions, and two alphabets, _____ began to experience serious ethnic conflicts and political secession movements beginning in 1990.

6. The success or failure of the democratization of Eastern European countries may depend upon the willingness of western companies to _____ in their new economies.

7. The _____ was a figurative expression of the division of Eastern and Western Europe during the years of the Cold War.

8. Solidarity of Poland, Civic Forum of Czechoslovakia, and New Forum of East Germany were all_____.

9. For many observers, the fall of the Berlin Wall signified the end of the post-war era known as the _____.

10. The radical transformation of Eastern European political and economic systems left many citizens suddenly out of work. The loss of beneficial characteristics of _____ economies such as guaranteed child-care, employment, low-rent housing, free education and medical care led to increasing dissatisfaction with newly-elected governments.

11. After the bloody and unpopular military suppression of student-led protests in China in the Spring of 1989, and the subsequent public outcry, only the _____ leadership responded to demonstrators in Eastern Europe with military force.

12. Which of the following may plague many Eastern European countries throughout the 1990s?

a) large foreign debts; *b)* shortages of goods; *c)* high inflation; *d)* immigration; *e)* nationalism; *f)* all of the above.

answer key

Match words in the following list with the correct statements.

Mikhail Gorbachev; travel restrictions; democracy; invest; Poland; monopoly; opposition movements; Yugoslavia; iron curtain; Romanian; Cold War; planned; the Berlin Wall; intervention.

1. In 1989 and 1990, a number of Eastern European Communist Parties relinquished their ***monopoly*** on political power. This removed a major hurdle from the path to ***democracy***.

2. In 1956 and 1968, the Soviet Union mobilized forces of the Warsaw Pact to crush popular anti-Soviet reformist revolts in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Under ***Mikhail Gorbachev's*** leadership, Soviet policy encouraged the countries of Eastern Europe to conduct reforms without the threat of Soviet ***intervention***.

3. The lifting of ***travel restrictions*** caused a flood of East Germans to leave for neighboring West Germany. A similar situation had resulted in construction of ***the Berlin Wall*** in 1961.

4. In 1989, ***Poland*** was the first Eastern European country to hold multi-party elections. On January 1, 1990, it became the first Eastern European country to convert from a command to a free market economy.

5. Comprising six republics, five ethnic groups, four major languages, three religions, and two alphabets, ***Yugoslavia*** began to experience serious ethnic conflicts and political secession movements beginning in 1990.

6. The success or failure of the democratization of Eastern European countries may depend upon the willingness of western companies to ***invest*** in their new economies.

7. The ***iron curtain*** was a figurative expression of the division of Eastern and Western Europe during the years of the Cold War.

8. Solidarity of Poland, Civic Forum of Czechoslovakia, and New Forum of East Germany were all ***opposition movements***.

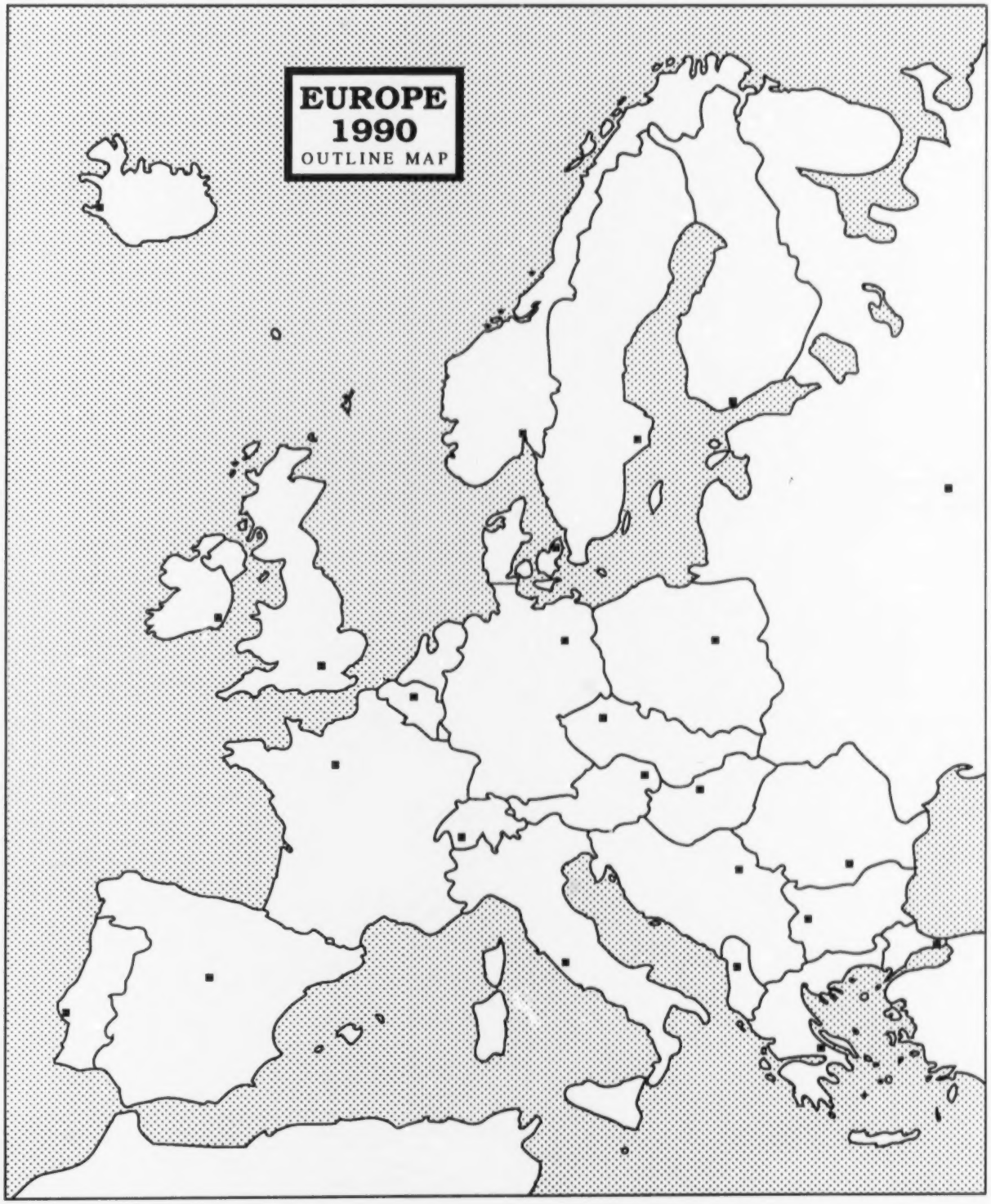
9. For many observers, the fall of the Berlin Wall signified the end of the post-war era known as the ***Cold War***.

10. The radical transformation of Eastern European political and economic systems left many citizens suddenly out of work. The loss of beneficial characteristics of ***planned*** economies such as guaranteed child-care, employment, low-rent housing, free education and medical care led to increasing dissatisfaction with newly-elected governments.

11. After the bloody and unpopular military suppression of student-led protests in China in the Spring of 1989, and the subsequent public outcry, only the ***Romanian*** leadership responded to demonstrators in Eastern Europe with military force.

12. Which of the following may plague many Eastern European countries throughout the 1990s?

    a) large foreign debts; *b)* shortages of goods; *c)* high inflation; *d)* immigration; *e)* nationalism; ***f) all of the above.***



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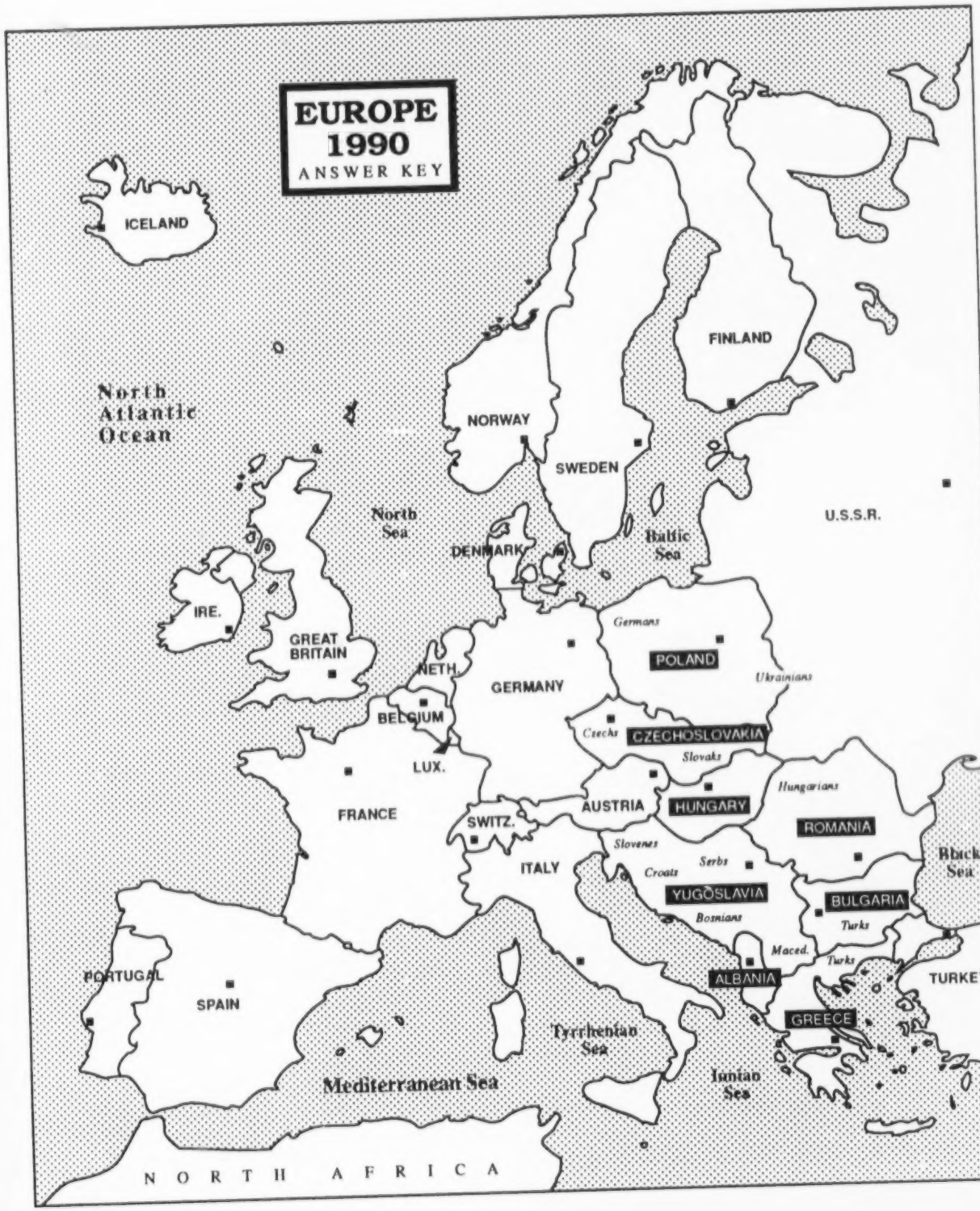

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LUX.
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HUNGARY
SWITZ.
ROMANIA
Austro Hungarian Empire
YUGOSLAVIA
Montenegro
BULGARIA
Serbia
ITALY
Corsica
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TURKEY
GREECE
Sicily
Crete
EASTERN EUROPE 1914-19
empire borders 1914
borders after Versailles
new states established from old empires

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YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
ITALY
Corsica
ALBANIA
TURKEY
GREECE
Sicily
Crete
EASTERN EUROPE 1939-49
territories annexed by Soviet Union 1940-45
territories annexed by Poland 1945

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glossary

coalition government A government formed by a number of cooperating political parties that together comprise a majority. The short-lived coalition government in East Germany brought together eleven different parties.

democratic socialism The name adopted by many Eastern European communist parties after 1989, and signifying a commitment to democracy as a means to executing the socialist economic system.

democratization The process of establishing a multi-party democracy; in Eastern Europe, ending the monopoly of the Communist Party and permitting direct elections.

dissident A *dissenting*, or opposing citizen. Dissident writers and artists, for example, were permitted only menial jobs in many Eastern European societies, and were often hassled for acting against the state.

environmentalism Concern for the environment and for the prevention and reversal of environmental damage. Environmentalists play a significant role in Eastern Europe as a result of the great damage caused by centrally-planned economies (e.g. outdated factories; poor pollution standards).

glasnost Russian for "openness," and first coined by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986, glasnost refers to the government's need to encourage freedom of the press, and to tolerate criticism and civil opposition.

immigration Movement of one or more persons into a country for permanent residence.

intelligentsia In communist countries, the intellectuals.

nationalism The expression of patriotic sentiments attached to a group of people which defines itself as a nation. This nation may be contained within a nation, and may be opposed to the existence of one or more other nations.

New World Order The era of international relations apparently ushered in by the end of the Cold War at the close of the 1980s. In theory, nations in the New World Order would resolve or manage their conflicts through peaceful negotiation rather than military posturing and/or the use of force which characterized the two World Wars and the Cold War which followed.

Party The Party in Communist nations commands the economy, the military, ideology, the political structure, and all cultural life. Members of the Communist Party were traditionally granted benefits not enjoyed by the ordinary population.

perestroika A Russian word meaning restructuring and used frequently to describe Gorbachev's policy of economic, political, military, and social reform begun in the late 1980s.

pluralism The organization of political life allowing the equality of multiple political parties and views.

radical reform Deep and revolutionary reform of any system or structure. In the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's *perestroika* was to achieve radical reform without rejecting or replacing communism. In many countries of Eastern Europe, radical reform occurred without the Communist Party.

secession The withdrawal of a country, republic, or region from its political parent. In Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, as in the Soviet Union, ethnic groups have expressed interest in forming their own independent political entities.

self-determination The interest and right of a people to have their own government.

social democracy A democracy in which many basic social concerns (e.g. health, higher education, child care) are provided by the government.

STASI The secret police in East Germany, hated and feared by the population for their practice of informing on the private details of many citizens' lives. Similar to the STASI, the Securitate in Romania battled the army and ordinary citizens during Ceausescu's final days in 1989.

Tiananmen Square The place in the Chinese capital, Beijing, where military forces were mobilized against protesters June 9, 1989, resulting in many deaths, injuries, and arrests. Considered thereafter an unacceptable form of responding to public protest for political change.

underground market The market through which many people traded Western goods or other consumer items that were difficult to come by. The underground market seriously threatened the performance of the planned economy by diverting money and resources.

unification The joining of political territories under one government; in the case of Germany, which was divided in 1949, unification in 1990 did not *reunify* the pre-war German empire.

velvet revolution A term used to describe Czechoslovakia's peaceful revolution of 1989.

chronology

May 8, 1945	Germany surrenders to the occupying Allies—the US, Great Britain, France, and the USSR. Germany and Berlin are each divided into four zones. Berlin's three western sectors combine to form West Berlin and the Soviet zone becomes East Berlin.
June 25, 1945	The United Nations Charter is signed in San Francisco. The UN is founded Oct. 24.
July 17-August 2, 1945	The leaders of the US, Great Britain and the USSR meet in Potsdam to resolve war-related questions.
August 6, 1945	The United States drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and on August 9, on Nagasaki. World War II ends on Sep. 2.
March 5, 1946	Churchill delivers the famous "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri, describing the enforced isolation of Eastern Europe by the political domination of the USSR.
March 12, 1947	US President Truman proposes economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey, which the US sees threatened by communism. Known as the "Truman Doctrine."
June 5, 1947	The Marshall Plan is proposed to help in Europe's reconstruction (a total of $13 billion over four years). Soviet-occupied states do not participate.
October 5, 1947	The Cominform is created to coordinate the international communist struggle with capitalism. Its members are the communist parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, and the USSR.
February, 1948	Soviet-supported communists take over the government in Czechoslovakia.
May-June, 1948	A rift develops between Stalin and Tito (Yugoslavia), resulting in Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform and the Soviet bloc, and the emergence of separate roads to socialism.
June 24, 1948	In an attempt to drive the Western powers out of the city, the Soviet Union imposes a blockade on West Berlin. The US and Great Britain conduct an airlift until the blockade is ended in May, 1949.
January 25, 1949	CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) is established in Moscow for the socialist states of Eastern Europe in response to the Marshall Plan in Western Europe.
April 4, 1949	NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is formed by the US, Canada and 14 Western European countries to defend against a perceived Soviet threat in Europe.
May-Dec. 1949	Hungarian Communists win elections, purge their opponents, proclaim a new constitution, nationalize major industries, and centralize the economy.
August, 1949	The USSR explodes its first atomic bomb.
Sep.-Oct, 1949	West and East Germany are established, thus dividing Germany.
1949-1953	Show trials in the USSR, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia result in the executions of numerous political figures.
June, 1950	The Korean War begins.
1950-1954	Senator McCarthy accuses over 150 US organizations of infiltration by communists.
March 5, 1953	Stalin, Soviet leader since 1928, dies. He is later replaced by Nikita Khrushchev.
June 17, 1953	A large uprising in East Berlin over shortages and production quotas is stopped by the USSR and GDR military.
May, 1955	Allied occupation forces leave Austria, which becomes a neutral country.
May 14, 1955	The Warsaw Pact is formed by seven Eastern European nations after West Germany joins NATO.
June, 1955	Khrushchev, in Belgrade, accepts the principal of separate roads to socialism.
July 18-23, 1955	The US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union meet at a Geneva summit conference.
June, 1956	Workers in Poznan, Poland, spark a violent riot over worsening economic conditions.

	Gomulka emerges as leader of Poland.
October, 1956	Demonstrators protest Soviet influence in Hungary and are met by the Soviet military. Imre Nagy, Prime Minister, first negotiates with Soviet representatives, then later announces Hungary's neutrality and withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. He is replaced by Janos Kadar in May, 1957. In 1958, Nagy is executed for defending Hungary.
October, 1957	The world's first satellite, Sputnik, is launched into orbit by the USSR.
June, 1961	Kennedy and Khrushchev meet for a summit in Vienna.
August 13, 1961	Having lost as many as 3 million immigrants to the West (of a population of 18 million), East German tanks and border troops close the East-West Berlin border. The construction of a 103-mile wall that encloses West Berlin until November 1989 begins. In October, US and Soviet tanks face off without confrontation in Berlin.
October, 1962	After discovering Soviet missiles installed in Cuba, the US blockades Soviet ships arriving from the USSR. After 13 tense days, Khrushchev backs down.
November, 1962	Zhivkov assumes power in Bulgaria.
June, 1963	US and USSR agree on a "hot line." In August they sign a limited nuclear test ban treaty.
October, 1964	Khrushchev is replaced by Leonid Brezhnev.
September, 1966	The USSR adopts a less tolerant stance towards dissent.
January 1, 1968	Hungary launches its own economic plan, permitting a greater private sector.
January 5, 1968	On the wave of increasing demands for reform, Alexander Dubcek assumes the Czech leadership. In July, fears that reforms will spread throughout the Soviet sphere prompt the Warsaw Pact to officially denounce Dubcek's reforms.
March 23, 1968	The leaders of Warsaw Pact nations, excluding Romania, press Dubcek to reverse the trends of democratization.
July to Aug.,1968	The USSR conducts military maneuvers along Czechoslovak frontier to intimidate Czech leaders.
Aug. 20-21, 1968	Warsaw Pact forces (excluding Romania) invade Czechoslovakia. Leading members of the liberalization movement are taken to Moscow, and return to renounce reforms.
Sep. 26, 1968	Soviet party newspaper *Pravda* advances the "Brezhnev Doctrine," justifying the invasion of communist countries in the name of world socialism and brotherhood.
April 17, 1969	Gustav Husak replaces Alexander Dubcek as Czechoslovak Communist Party leader.
December, 1970	Edward Gierek replaces Gomulka as Party leader in Poland after food shortages threaten unrest.
June to November, 1971	The US resumes large-scale trade with the Soviet Union and cancels its embargo of communist China.
February, 1972	Richard Nixon is the first US President to visit communist China.
May, 1972	Nixon and Brezhnev sign the SALT I Accord and the ABM Treaty.
December 1972	The two German states sign the Basic Treaty in which both sides recognize each other officially for the first time.
January, 1973	The Vietnam War is officially ended in Paris. The last US forces leave in 1975.
October, 1973	The US and USSR avert a superpower confrontation over the "Yom Kippur" war in the Middle East.
August, 1974	Nixon resigns amidst the Watergate scandal. Gerald Ford is President until Jimmy Carter is elected in 1976.

December, 1974	The Jackson-Vanik amendment ties trade with the USSR to its policies of emigration.
July, 1975	The US and the Soviet Union conduct a joint space mission.
August 1, 1975	The Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki, signed by 35 neutral, Warsaw Pact, and NATO countries, officially recognizes the division of Europe and its post-war borders. The Soviet Union accepts a declaration on human rights.
September 1976	KOR (Workers' Defence Committee) is formed by a group of intellectuals in Poland to provide legal, financial, and medical aid for workers subjected to repression and physical terror.
January 6, 1977	The Czech opposition movement Charter 77 urges the government to observe human rights. Some members are imprisoned, including Vaclav Havel; others are harassed.
December, 1977	Soviet military equipment is shipped to Ethiopia in support of the communist government there.
April, 1977	There is a communist coup in Afghanistan. In June, a pro-Soviet government is installed in South Yemen.
October, 1978	Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, Archbishop of Kraków, becomes Pope John Paul II.
June 2, 1979	Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland is the first papal visit to a communist nation.
December, 1979	Soviet forces invade Afghanistan and install a pro-Soviet leader.
May, 1980	Tito dies, and ethnic rivalries reappear in Yugoslavia.
July, 1980	Olympic Games in Moscow are boycotted by the US and several other nations.
August 22, 1980	Strikes spread throughout Polish shipyards. The government arrests 24 leaders.
August 23, 1980	The Polish government agrees to negotiate with striking workers who number 300,000. They return to work in September on the promise of the free trade unions and the right to strike. The trade union "Solidarity" is formed by Lech Walesa.
Dec. 13, 1981	During the year, Solidarity has increased pressure on the Polish government, causing Eastern European leaders to meet with the Soviet leadership. General Jaruzelski declares a state of emergency and imposes martial law.
1982	START talks on the reduction of strategic nuclear arms begin, but are ended in late 1983 when NATO deploys new Cruise and Pershing nuclear missiles in W. Europe and Soviet representatives walk out of the negotiations.
October 8, 1982	After demonstrations in support of Solidarity, the Polish Parliament bans the union.
November, 1982	Leonid Brezhnev dies and is succeeded by Yuri Andropov.
Dec. 31, 1982	The Polish government suspends martial law until it is ended July, 1983.
September, 1983	USSR shoots down a Korean airliner in Soviet air space, killing all 268 passengers.
October 5, 1983	Lech Walesa, outlawed leader of Solidarity, receives the Nobel Peace Prize.
February, 1984	Andropov dies and is replaced by Andrei Chernenko.
March, 1985	Chernenko dies and is replaced by Mikhail Gorbachev.
April, 1985	Hoxha dies and is succeeded by Alia as Albania's leader.
November, 1985	Reagan and Gorbachev meet for the first time for a summit in Geneva. The mood is constructive. Gorbachev soon launches reform programs at home.
April, 1986	A nuclear reactor in Chernobyl, USSR, explodes and releases widespread radiation.
October, 1986	The Rejkjavik summit between Gorbachev and Reagan ends in disagreement over arms control and SDI. Eastern European intellectuals sign a document calling for "political democracy," "pluralism based on the principle of self-government," and "the peaceful reunification of divided Europe."

December, 1987	Reagan and Gorbachev sign the INF agreement in Washington, the first ever arms reduction treaty. An entire class of weapons is destroyed, some deployed in 1982.
February, 1988	Gorbachev pledges to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan.
June, 1988	At the first All-Soviet Communist Party Conference since 1941, televised debates attest to the scope of Gorbachev's reform program.
August, 1988	Czech and other Eastern European dissidents call for withdrawal of Soviet troops.
November, 1988	Republican George Bush is elected US President.
December, 1988	Gorbachev announces a planned cut of 500,000 Soviet troops.
February, 1989	The Hungarian Communist Party approves the creation of independent political parties.
	Czech writer Vaclav Havel is imprisoned for participating in January demonstrations.
	Round table negotiations begin in Poland between the newly legalized Solidarity movement and the Communist Party, leading to elections in June.
Feb.-March, 1989	Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, Yugoslavia, clash over local political control.
May 2, 1989	Hungary begins to dismantle a 150 mile, barbed-wire fence bordering Austria.
May 7, 1989	The National Front, which includes the Communist Party, gets 98.5 per cent of the vote in East German elections. Many in the church-protected opposition claim fraud.
May-August, 1989	Over 300,000 ethnic Turks flee Bulgaria for Turkey in reaction to discrimination.
June 13, 1989	The Hungarian gov't and its opponents discuss transition to a multi-party system.
June 16, 1989	100,000 Hungarians attend a memorial service and honorable reburial of Imre Nagy.
June 18, 1989	Solidarity candidates sweep the open seats in the Senate and the Sejm in the first free election in Poland in forty years. Reformers appear to be in control in Hungary.
July 6, 1989	Gorbachev tells Western Europe that the USSR will not intervene in Eastern Europe.
July , 1989	US President Bush pledges economic aid for new Eastern European governments. Western Europe also announces its assistance.
July 19, 1989	General Wojciech Jaruzelski is elected President with the support of Lech Walesa.
August 1989	Hundreds of East German summer vacationers take refuge in West German embassies throughout Eastern Europe in the hope of getting to West Germany.
August 14, 1989	Rakowski resigns as Premier of the Communist Party Premier of Poland.
August 17, 1989	President Jaruzelski accepts the Walesa proposal and chooses Mazowiecki, a journalist, Roman Catholic intellectual, and friend of Walesa's, as the Prime Minister .
Sep. 10, 1989	Hungary opens its border with Austria. 13,000 E. Germans leave for West Germany.
October 5, 1989	Gorbachev, in East Berlin says that internal matters will be decided "not in Moscow, but in Berlin."
October 7, 1989	Hungary's Communist party renames itself the Hungarian Socialist Party and renounces Marxism, embracing instead democratic socialism as party doctrine.
October 16, 1989	100,000 East Germans protest in the streets of Leipzig to demand reforms.
October 18, 1989	East German Communist Party ousts 18-year party leader Erich Honecker (who is later arrested and ultimately flown to the USSR). Egon Krenz assumes power.
	Hungarian Parliament announces multi-party elections for 1990 and makes other sweeping political changes, including abolishing the Communist Party's leading role.
Nov. 4, 1989	After huge demonstrations, East Germany lifts travel restrictions to West Germany.
Nov. 7, 1989	Most of the East German Politburo resigns. As many as 10,000 head west daily.

Nov. 9, 1989	East Germany removes all travel restrictions. Hundreds of thousands of East Germans stream through the dramatic opening of the Berlin Wall.
Nov. 10, 1989	Todor Zhivkov, President of Bulgaria since 1954, resigns after large protests.
Nov. 15, 1989	Walesa addresses the US Congress, asking for economic aid.
Nov. 18, 1989	The 12 members of the European Community pledge aid to countries newly embracing democracy.
Nov. 24, 1989	After eight consecutive days of protest in Prague, 350,000 Czechs gather to demand democracy. Gustav Husak and Milos Jakes and other top leaders resign. Alexander Dubcek, the reform leader of 1968, makes an emotional address to a euphoric crowd.
Nov. 26, 1989	Hungarians vote in free elections for the first time in 42 years.
Nov. 28, 1989	West German Chancellor Kohl announces a 10-point plan for German unity.
December, 1989	The Bulgarian Communist Party gives up its political monopoly and reverses discriminatory policies towards Bulgaria's ethnic Turkish population.
Dec. 3, 1989	Egon Krenz resigns with the entire East German Politburo and the Central Committee.
Dec. 15-17, 1989	Demonstrations in Romania to prevent the arrest of a Protestant Minister turn violent when crowds call for Romania's leader, Ceausescu, to step down, and troops open fire.
Dec. 21-22, 1989	Ceausescu's feared Securitate forces skirmish with protesters. The army joins sides with crowds against the Securitate. A new provisional government is formed.
Dec. 25, 1989	Romania's toppled leader, Ceausescu, and his wife, are executed.
Dec. 28-29, 1989	The Czechoslovak Parliament elects Vaclav Havel, a prominent playwright and dissident, as President, and Dubcek as chairman.
January 15, 1990	COMECON agrees on a gradual transition to free-market trading between member countries.
March 18, 1990	The CDU (conservative) wins in East Germany's first free elections. Lothar de Maziere is Prime Minister.
March 19-21, 1990	Romanians battle ethnic Hungarians who are demonstrating for cultural autonomy and civil rights in Romania. The interim government declares a state of emergency.
May, 1990	Ruling National Salvation Front and its leader Ion Illiescu win in Romania's first free election in 50 years.
June, 1990	Student-led anti-government protesters are confronted by 10,000 miners brought in to support the Romanian leadership. The US decides to withold economic aid.
June 7, 1990	Warsaw Pact leaders announce an end to the idea of the West as an "ideological enemy."
June 8-9, 1990	Opposition party Civic Forum sweeps Czechoslovakia's first free elections in 40 years.
July 1, 1990	East Germany begins to use the West German Deutschemark as its currency.
July-August, 1990	Romanians, led by students, continue to protest against Illiescu's National Salvation Front, and against high prices and food shortages.
July 13, 1990	4,000 Albanians arrive in Italy after seeking political asylum
July 20, 1990	The Czech government ends subsidies on most foods. Some prices increase by 25%.
Sep. 12, 1990	In the Two-plus-Four treaty with East and West Germany, the Four Powers promise full sovereignty to the unified Germany on October 3, when they will end their occupation rights.

October 1-2, 1990	Nationalist tensions escalate across Yugoslavia after Croatia declares itself autonomous and Serbia annexes Kosovo, home to many ethnic Albanians.
October 3, 1990	East and West Germany are unified. GDR is no longer a member of the Warsaw Pact.
November, 1990	Bulgarians protest in Sofia and achieve the premier's resignation. A coalition government is formed in December.
Dec. 2, 1990	National elections throughout Germany elect Helmut Kohl (CDU: conservative) as the first Chancellor of united Germany.
December, 1990	After widespread social unrest, Albanians form the country's first opposition party.
December, 1990 - February, 1991	Slovenia and Croatia vote for independence and demand a confederation within Yugoslavia.
Dec. 9, 1990	Walesa beats Polish-Canadian businessman Tyminski in Polish run-off elections.
December 30, 1990	Over 3,000 Albanians cross into Greece in search of political asylum.
January, 1991	Czech party Civic Forum splits in two over differences over economic reform.
January 7, 1991	Czechoslovakia receives a $1.8 billion loan from the IMF.
January 13, 1991	Soviet army troops kill 15 protesters in Vilnius, Lithuania, two days before the deadline set by UN coalition forces in the Persian Gulf.
January 14, 1991	Albanian-Greek borders open. About 8,000 Albanians had fled since December.
January 17, 1991	Coalition forces begin air operations against Iraq.
January 20, 1991	Soviet troops storm the headquarters of Latvia's interior ministry. Western nations later cancel plans to provide the USSR with financial aid.
February, 1991	Pro-democracy protests led by students begin in Albania. A new communist government is formed.
February, 1991	The Croatian government in Yugoslavia continues taking steps towards independence from the federal Yugoslavian government.
February, 1991	Members of the alliance vote to formally dissolve the Warsaw Pact.
February 29, 1991	The Slovene parliament amends its constitution, invalidating federal Yugoslav laws in Slovenia.
March 31, 1991	Albania, the last communist state in Eastern Europe, holds free elections. Communists retain control.

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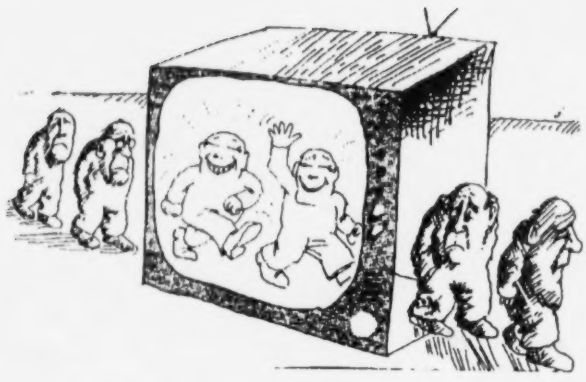

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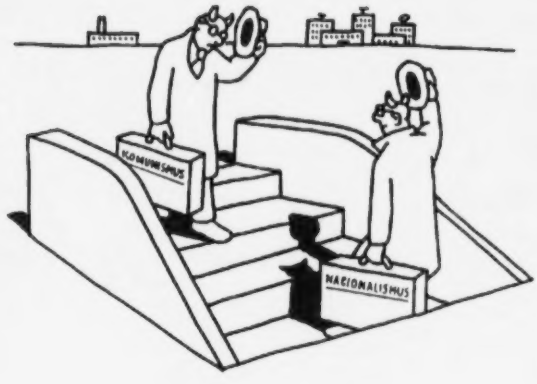

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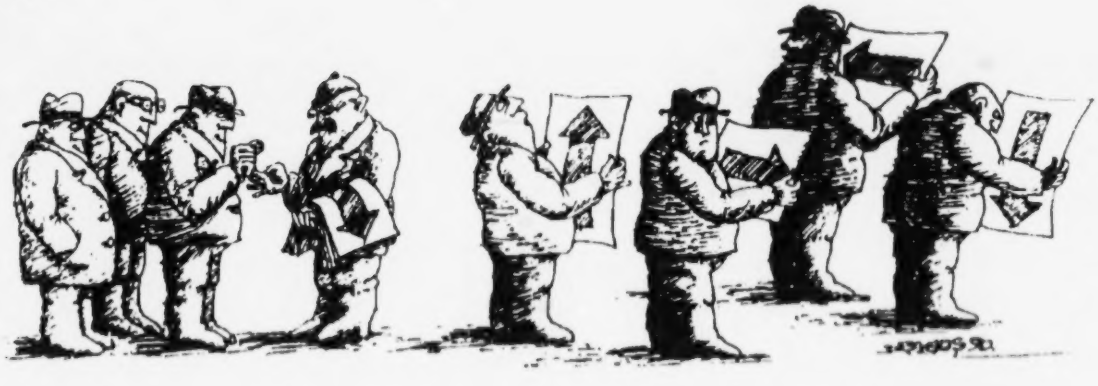

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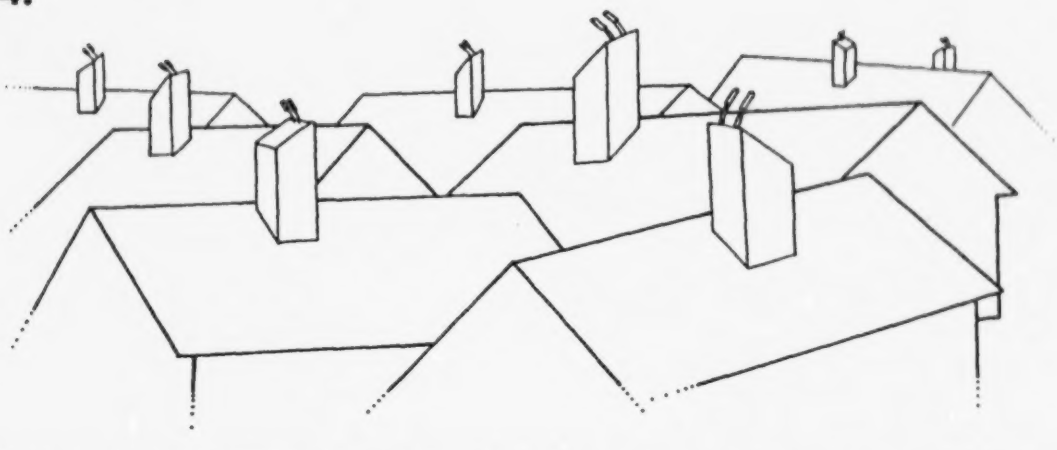

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